

13 March 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director (Intelligence)

SUBJECT: Latin American Policy

1. The paper entitled, "Review of the Cuban Situation and Policy" understates our problems and overestimates our successes.

2. The paper gives the following as our policy objectives:

- a. Safeguarding the security of the United States.
- b. Fight against the spread of Castroism.
- c. Isolation of the Castro regime.
- d. Assure the Cuban people the opportunity of freely choosing their own government.

The objective of safeguarding the security of the United States is a passive objective. It implies a policy of reacting to threats as they arise. I believe that, on the contrary, we need to decide what kind of a situation we want to see in Latin America and exercise the leadership necessary to create that situation. The paper emphasizes that we should work as far as possible through collective action. It is true that collective action would be desirable in many cases, but the emphasis on it can be a device for evading the responsibility of leadership, and the Latins in particular admire and respond to leadership and despise and fight against people who do not exercise leadership. The paper also states that we will fight against the spread of Castroism by helping to eliminate poverty and inequity. This is definitely the wrong target. Poverty and inequity will not be eliminated in Latin America in our lifetime or in the lifetime of our grandchildren. The point is to convince the Latin Americans that our method of attack on poverty and inequity is the most efficient method and that it is more likely to be successful than the method of attack used by the communists and the Castroites. It would be perfectly possible in theory to eliminate poverty and inequity and still have the area go communist. As a matter of fact, communist parties in Latin America have tended to be stronger among the urban workers in

relatively advanced countries like Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile than they have in more backward countries and in the rural areas where poverty predominates. The paper cites the great strides already made toward increased inter-American cooperation leading toward the isolation of Castro. I submit that on the contrary such progress as we have made has been achieved most reluctantly on the part of most Latin American countries. This grudging cooperation of Latin America can be contrasted to the situation in 1942 when all Latin American countries except Argentina and Chile broke relations with the Axis powers almost immediately in response to a suggestion from us and those two countries broke relations within the next year or two. In other words, our ability to elicit cooperation in Latin America is considerably worse now than it used to be.

3. For many years most Latin American countries have attempted to adapt either the parliamentary system or the American system of representative democracy to suit the political mores of Latin America. They have been largely unsuccessful in this attempt because neither the American nor the parliamentary political institutions take into account adequately the peculiarities of Latin American social structure and socio-political behavior. Political leaders in Latin America are relatively cut off from the political thinking and analytical skills that have been developed by the political scientists and the sociologists in Europe and America. I believe that we need to help the Latin Americans analyze their basic political problems and to develop political institutions adapted to Latin American society which will provide a maximum amount of stability and sound progress toward the development of viable economies and social justice. Once we have decided what kind of a government we want to see in Latin America we should then bend all our efforts in that direction.

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